I: Karsten--123-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 137, 824, 241 (1928-29)

"Of the numerous cultivated plants which play a part in the magical medicine and the religious customs of the Indians the following deserve to be mentioned:--

First of all we have the tobacco plant (Nicotiana undulata, Jib. tsańgu, Qu. tabacu) used partly as magical medicine, partly as a narcotic. [124]

The two other principal narcotic drinks of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are prepared from the vine Banisteria caapi (Jib. nateḿa, Qu. aya huaśca), and from the bush Datura arborea (Jib. maikoa, Qu. huańtuc). Both are cultivated by the Indians.

How the tobacco, the nateḿa, and the maikoa are used, will appear from descriptions given later on.

Varvasco is a common name for certain poisonous plants which play an important part in Indian fishing. They will again be dealt with in the chapter on the Indian fishing practices.

Tsinsímba is the name of a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, to which a magical power is attributed. The leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva (in the same way as the leaves of the tobacco), and given to the women and children at certain feasts to make them strong and active.

There is another similar plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is called chikí. The root of the plant is warmed up in a clay pot half-filled with water, together with some leaves of tobacco, and the drink is given to a woman at the 'feast of the women'. This

drink has the effect of a vomitory and is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman.

Among the magical plants cultivated by the Jibaros and Canelos Indians must also be reckoned the roucou shrub (Bixa orellana; Jib. ipyaku, Qu. manduru), the fruit of which affords the red dye which the Indians use for painting the face and the body.

Of the plants mentioned above, the following are regarded as 'women', that is, as being animated by a female wakani (aya): the manioc, the camote, the sanahoria, the bean, the earth-nut, the sweet potato, the mandi, the pumpkin, the gourd tree, the tsinsimba, the chiki, and the roucou shrub; whereas the following are regarded as 'men', that is, as animated by a male wakani or aya: the plantain, the maize, the chonta palm, and the narcotic plants tobacco, Banisteria caapi, and Datura arborea, as well as the varvasco.

Consistently with this idea we find, as a matter of fact, among the names of the Jibaro women such names as Mama (manioc), Inchi (camote), Nussi (earth-nut), Ipyaku (roucou) and Chiki; whereas among names of the Jibaro men we meet such as Paandama (plantain), Ui (chonta palm), and Maikoa.

As pointed out before, it is essential that the female plants be cultivated by the women, and the male plants by the men. In any kind of agriculture, however, the rough work, that is, the felling of the trees and [125] the clearing of the ground, when new plantations are made in the forest, is done by the men. On the other hand, although for instance the

plantain is always planted by the men, yet the women later on take part in tending the tree and sing incantations to promote its growth. Just as the earth-deity of the Jibaros is regarded as a woman, so the women are always supposed to exert a special, mysterious influence upon the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--214-215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 832, 302, 824 (1928-29)

"Various love charms are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, and naturally more frequently by the men than by the women. These love charms are obtained partly from the plant world, partly from the animal kingdom. Among the former, an important role is played by a small plant which among the Ecuadorian Indians is best known under its Quichua name simayuca, of which the Jibaro name simaika is but a corruption. Under this name at least two varieties are included: the one is smaller and specially cultivated by the Indians, the other grows wild, but both, and especially the former, are used as love charms. The smaller is probably a Peperomia species; it is found in the forests of Western Ecuador also and is by the Colorado and the Cayapa Indians used exactly in the same way as by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The plant is used in different ways as a love charm; any part of it is believed to have a wonderful power of exciting the sexual passions of the opposite sex when it is brought into some contact with his or her body. It is enough to take one of the small leaves, fold it up and rub a girl with it on the arm: the girl will instantly be filled with love for the young man doing so. More commonly, however, the charm is prepared in the following way. The whole plant is dried in the sun, whereupon it is pulverized and mixed with the red seeds of the roucou (Bixa orellana). When preparing this charm the Indian has to fast one day; otherwise the charm would be quite ineffective. The red powder is put in a small round gourd and carried in the bag (uyúna) where the Jibaro Indian keeps other charms, the sticks

for drilling fire, etc. This kind of red paint is called muspa in the Jibaro language. The Indian, when he is about to pay a visit in a strange house, paints his face with it in a special way, especially round the eyes, and the painting is supposed to exert an irresistible influence upon a woman. The women 'becomes mad', starts to dance and sing, and will easily follow the man. The Jibaro Indian makes use of this charm, not so much to attract a girl whom he wants to marry, but more frequently to seduce married women in the house they are visiting. The muspa, or leaves of the simaika, are however used not only by men, but also by women who want to attract [215] a man, being thus a means by which both sexes mutually excite each other's erotic passions. It is impossible to say for what reasons the apparently harmless plant in question is so universally regarded as a love charm by both Indians and mestizos. The Canelos Indians, who use it much in the same way as the Jibaros, explained to me that the mere touching of the plant with the hands will instantly awaken in them longing for a woman.

There are other plants which are said to have similar erotic effects. Thus among the numerous plants which are called by the common name piripiri, and all of which are used for special magical purposes, there is one called noa piripiri ('the women's piripiri') which is used as a love charm much in the same way as the simaika. A leaf of the plant is mixed into some food--for instance a dish with mashed manioc--which the woman has to eat, and it will have the effect of arousing in her love for the man."

1: Karsten--225 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
824 (1928-29)

"There is a special kind of banana which the Indians call palanda noa, 'the female plantain'. Generally the banana belongs to those plants to which the Indians ascribe the male sex, but the palanda noa forms an exception owing to the tendency of its shell to burst open when the fruit is boiled. At Canelos the men avoid eating this banana, otherwise, they say, their wives will bear only female children. On the other hand, they readily let their wives eat it because it is believed to facilitate their delivery."

1: Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

"The plant spirits have hardly less importance in the religion of the Jibaros than the animal spirits. It is indeed a belief in the animistic philosophy of the Indians, that all trees and plants are animated by spirits or souls just as men and animals are. Nor does the wakáni of a plant differ in essence from the wakáni of a man or an animal. According to the mythology of the Jibaros all animals have once been men, and similarly in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that ani-[379]mate them temporarily may, either for a long or short period, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thought and feelings, and when intoxicated by the narcotic drinks prepared from certain plants the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definitive human form, namely, as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with the same view. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be 'men', i.e. to have a man's soul, others --in fact the majority of them--are said to be 'women', i.e. have a woman's soul.

The growth of trees and plants and the ripening of their fruits is due to the wakáni or soul inhabiting them. But, of course, only such trees and plants have a place in the religion and superstition of the Indians as are particularly useful or distinguished by

some striking properties. Thus real worship is accorded to the garden plants, the manioc, the banana, the maize, the beans, the earth-nuts, etc. in connection with the cult of Nungüi mentioned before. Nungüi noa, the mythical Jibaro woman, created all fruits in the beginning and still reigns over them. In the different plant spirits--those which, like the manioc, the beans and the earth-nuts, are of the female sex--there is something of her own spirit; she alone, therefore, is able to give an abundant crop to the women cultivating them. On the other hand, for such garden plants as are supposed to be of the male sex--as for instance the banana and the maize--the Jibaro men who have to cultivate these plants appeal to the mythical husband of Nungüi, Shakaĕma, who presides over them and influences their growth and fertility. What the religion of the Jibaros has to show of real worship or cult is mainly illustrated in the prayers and incantations addressed to Nungüi and Shakaĕma in agriculture.

Of trees that have great value for the Jibaros from an alimental point of view the chontaruru palm (Guilielma) is the most important. Its excellent fruit is the food most appreciated by the Indians for a couple of months of the year, and perhaps still more appreciated is the fermented beer that they make from it. The chontaruru palm has a man's wakáni or soul and is therefore planted and tended by the men. At the time of the year when the fruit grows ripe great festivals are held in connection with the preparation of the beer and the beer-drinking, dances being performed and incantations sung in order

to [380] 'hurry on' the ripening and increase of the fruit and the fermentation of the beer.

On the other hand the chonta palm, both the one cultivated for the sake of its useful fruit and the wild species (shingi), are also regarded as 'demoniacal' trees on account of their large thorns, which play an important part in Indian witchcraft. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-men make frequent use of chonta thorns when they want to bewitch their enemies, as we shall see later on. From this point of view the spirit of the chonta palm is an evil demon or iguánchi, a belief which in part is also due to the iron hard wood of this tree. Not only the thorns but also other parts of the chonta palm are often used for magic purposes. Thus the lance made of chonta wood is supposed to possess magical power and to inspire not only living men but also spirits and demons with dread. Hence at the great victory-feast of the Jibaros the head trophy (tsantsa) is always tied to a chonta lance when it is not needed for the ceremonies. The spirit of the killed enemy is thus kept under restraint or control.

Other trees connected with the religion or superstition of the Jibaros are for instance the genipa tree (Genipa americana); and the guayusa tree (Ilex). From the genipa fruit the Indians get the black dye (sua), with which they paint the body and face for warfare and on certain ceremonial occasions, and to which a magical power is ascribed. The Jibaros say that they paint themselves black for warfare 'in order to resemble the

iguánchi'. The genipa is therefore a 'demoniacal' paint. Similar supernatural virtues are ascribed to the decoction made of the leaves of the guayusa tree (weisa), which has great importance as a tonic and a means of purification.

The most popular magical paint of the Indians is prepared from the red seeds of the bush Bixa orellana, which is one of the sacred trees of the Jibaros. With this red dye (called ipyáku) the Jibaros paint the face for many different ends, e.g. as protection against disease and witchcraft or in general to acquire strength and power of resistance, to gain the love of women, and so forth. The wonderful properties of the paint is due to the spirit which animates the tree.

Poisonous plants and plants with extraordinarily strong properties, for instance those used for the preparation of the arrow-poison and such as play a part in the medicine of the Indians, are believed to be animated by dangerous spirits or demons to whom these striking properties are due. Hence the precautions taken, for instance, at the preparation of the [381] arrow-poison, when the sorcerer who cooks the poison is supposed to be fighting an evil demon whom he subdues, and whose power he uses for his own ends. The idea is exactly the same as that held in regard to the fermented drinks prepared from manioc, chontaruru, etc., the strength of which is likewise due to the spirits inhabiting the plants.

Other plants which play an important part in the magical medicine and religion of the

Indians are, for instance, those comprehended under the general name of varvasco and used partly for fishing, partly for the preparation of the arrow-poison, as well as the narcotic plants tobacco, natéma, and maikoa. The former have been mentioned before in connection with the Indian fishing customs, and the latter will presently be treated in detail. All these plants illustrate, in a most characteristic way, the Indian belief in plant spirits."

"We have further to consider the plant demons which are much the same as those of the Jibaros. Of 'sacred' or demoniacal trees the palms are the most important. There are three kinds of demoniacal palms: the cucha chunta (Mauritia) which grows at the margin of lagoons or on marshy ground; the huiriria chunta (Bactris) another kind of wild chonta palm; and the tarpu chunta or cultivated chontaruru palm (Guilielma). To all these the appellation supai is given because of their [391] long thorns which play the main part in the magic art of the medicine-men and sorcerers at Canelos.

The animistic ideas in regard to the garden plants are much the same as among the Jibaros. The Canelos Indians, who are now Christians in name, however, do not believe in an Earth-mother, and although many curious practices are observed at sowing and planting, their agriculture is not nowadays connected with a cult of the plant spirits as among the Jibaros.

Poisonous plants are animated by supai and the efficacy of the arrow-poison, as we have seen, is due to the demons inhabiting the plant from which it is prepared.

The same holds good of the narcotic plants aya huasca (= natéma of the Jibaros), huántuc (= maikoa), and tobacco, which play the same important part in the divination of the Canelos Indians as in that of the Jibaros. The demon of the huántuc plant, huántuc supai, is said to appear to the Canelos medicine-men, narcotized by the drink,

as a little white man in black clothes, who arrives to cure the evils he has inflicted 'smoking a big cigar'."

1: Karsten--420 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
824 (1928-29)

"Besides the juice of tobacco, which may in itself have beneficial effects, certain other natural medicines are used against snake-bite. The most common of these is the one prepared from a plant called piri-piri. Of this gramineous plant there are five kinds which differ from each other in the size of the leaves. The kind used against the poison of snakes is called napi piripiri (snake's piripiri). The tubers of the plant are mashed in a quantity of cold water, and the little wound is carefully washed with the solution. The patient also has to drink the same medicine. Another kind of remedy is a clyster prepared from the exceedingly strong Indian pepper (Capsicum). A quantity of the pepper is dissolved in water and the solution is squirted into the rectum through the hollow stem of the carrot plant (Daucus carota). A third remedy used in such cases is obtained from the animal kingdom. There is a sort of crab, living in fresh water, which is called uriki by the Jibaros. The whole animal is crushed with a club and boiled in water, and the patient takes the decoction as a medicine. It is also good for him to eat the animal itself."

"The pharmacological knowledge of the Indians is wonderful. I have had an opportunity to point out this with particular reference to their arrow-poison, but it is equally conspicuous in regard to their medical art in which plants play a dominant part. A whole book could be written about the Indian plant medicines, but unfortunately of this subject the same must be said as I have stated of the plants from which the arrow-poison is prepared: the material necessary for treating this subject can properly be collected only by a botanist. European medical science owes several useful plants to the Indians of South America, but those hitherto known only form a fractional part of those actually existing. I therefore wish to emphasize once more the importance of this particular subject being studied by experts in pharmacology and botany. Expeditions sent out for this purpose to the upper Amazonas regions are almost sure to achieve results of great value.

Of the numerous plant medicines of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians several have already been mentioned by me in previous chapters. I beg only to draw attention for instance to the various medicines which, in the latter tribe, both the father and mother of a newborn child have to take, partly to purify themselves, partly to fortify and strengthen the babe. To avoid repeating statements made before, I shall only mention a few other medicines which are commonly used and which throw some light upon the medical art of the Indians. I remark that these medicines, most of which are obtained

from the plant world, are a commune bonum to all Indians tribes on the upper Amazon river. The names of [507]the plants are given partly in the Jibaro language, partly in Quichua. For some plants or medicines the Canelos Indians use Spanish names.

Several plant medicines are used as remedies against fevers. One of these is the aya huasca (natéma), which we already know as an important narcotic producing visions and hallucinations. Beside this, the Canelos Indians assert that the medicine is an efficacious remedy for malarial fever, especially when mixed with a little tobacco water, and this assertion is confirmed by the white settlers in Eastern Ecuador who frequently use it in such cases.

Another remedy for fever is prepared from a Verbena species, called yapáu by the Jibaros. The leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction taken as a medicine. Exactly in the same way the Indians use another plant, a Cyathula species of the family Amaranthaceae.(1) Sometimes decoctions of both plants are mixed, by which the efficacy of the medicine is enhanced. It is also said to be a remedy against tape-worm. The Cyathula species is by the Canelos Indians called iskantsēli, by the

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"1. I am obliged to Dr. H. Lindberg in Helsingfors for the botanical determination of the Verbena and the Cyanthula species."

Jibaros kántsea. The latter Indians, when using the kántsea-leaves, are also in the habit of mixing the decoction with the white of one or two eggs beaten up as well as with some mountain salt (catchi).

Quinine bark, cascarilla, which is to be obtained in the forests of Eastern Ecuador, is used by the Canelos Indians as another remedy for malaria. An extract is made of some pieces of bark, which is mixed with brandy. Both the Indians and the settlers assert that taken together with brandy the cascarilla extract is much more efficacious.

The cinnamon bark and the cinnamon flower (ishpingu) is at Canelos used as a remedy for diarrhoea and pains in the stomach. A decoction is made of some pieces of the bark or some flowers and the medicine is drunk.

The shrub called tzigta in Quichua has been mentioned as a plant which yields one of the poisonous ingredients by which an old and useless arrow-poison is made efficacious again (p. 155). Of this plant, which I have not been able to identify botanically, there seems however to exist various species of which some are only slightly poisonous and used as ordinary medicines. A quantity of the rind is scraped off and boiled in water, and the decoction is taken by the Canelos Indians as a remedy, especially for catarrh and head-ache. It is in fact one of the medicines most commonly used by them.

Another medical plant of the same Indians is the one called pata-[508] cunyúyu. The

leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction, mixed with some salt, is taken as a vomitory.

The small plant called yerba Luisa is used both by the white settlers and the Canelos Indians as a remedy for chills. A decoction is made of the leaves for the purpose and taken by the patient as hot as possible. The medicine is also good for pains in the stomach, especially mixed with some soda.

Ambára is the name of a small plant which is used by the Jibaros for the cure of dysentery. The roots are boiled for the purpose for a long while and the decoction taken as a medicine which has purging effects. It also acts as a vomitory.

Jaundice is cured by the Jibaros by a medicine prepared from the bark of the cedar (Cedrela herrerae). One part of the bark in two parts of water is boiled for one hour. A quantity of this decoction, about one drinking glass, is taken every morning on an empty stomach and will in a few days cure the patient.

Emetics in general play an important role in the medical art of the Indians, as appeared from descriptions of ceremonies performed at feasts, etc. Thus the aya huasca, the guayusa solution, and the medicine prepared from the root chiki at the feasts of the women, all have the effect of vomitories by which the organism is purified from harmful substances. An important emetic of the Jibaros is their own native salt (whui), which is never used as a spice but appreciated all the more as a medicine. These

Indians make a distinction between the salt which they prepare themselves by boiling, and the salt which they obtain in the way of barter from the Canelos Indians and which is called by its Quichua name catchi. This salt too is used exclusively for certain medical purposes, but not as an emetic.

Just as the Indians appreciate emetics, they appreciate medicines with purging effects. Such a medicine is for instance the ambára, mentioned above, by which the Indians cure dysentery. Other strong medicines of this kind are used as a cure for tape-worms.

The stomach and intestinal canal of small children is purified by means of a decoction of ferns, which is taken as an ordinary medicine. In other cases the Indians prepare a clyster for the same purpose. A clyster which came under my notice among the Jibaros consisted of a decoction of four different plants all of which are cultivated by the Indians: the first was the plant kántsea, mentioned before; the second the leaves of a plant called mapash; the third a kind of grass called chiri-[509]chiri; and the fourth a small plant called púyu. This strong medicine was injected into the rectum of the child by means of an enema-syringe consisting of a hen's bladder attached to a piece of the stem of the sanahoria plant (Daucus) which is hollow. Syringes of this kind are commonly used by the Indians. Dysentery and diarrhoea in children are generally cured in this way.

Grown-up people are in some cases cured by another kind of clyster consisting simply

of a solution of Indian pepper (Capsicum). By such a clyster the Indians for instance try to cure patients from the consequences of snake's bite (p.420). The Indians of the Pastaza have recourse to this remedy especially against the scurvy (escorbuto) which at times makes it [sic] appearance in that unhealthy region, assuming an epidemical character. The Indians of Canelos do not use a clyster in the proper sense of the word, but mix certain strong ingredients, gun powder, Indian pepper, mashed pieces of the ginger root, and the root of a third strong plant called botoncillo in Spanish. A piece of cotton-wool is soaked in these strong medicines and introduced into the anus of the patient for a short while; he could not stand it for long. According to the idea of the Indians, this disease is due to the anus of the patient being attacked by certain worms which will rise higher and higher along the intestinal canal and rapidly cause the patient to rot away. If the remedy is applied at once, the worms will be killed by the strong medicines and the patient may be saved. I heard of several cases on the Pastaza when Indians and white settlers had been cured in this way from the [sic] terrible malady, which generally leads to death in two or three days.--That a clyster consisting of a solution of Indian pepper really has disinfecting and purifying effects, is beyond doubt.

There are also, of course, plant medicines which are believed to have the effect of healing wounds. Of this kind is for instance the resin or balsam called copaiba and obtained from the Copaifera tree. The wound is washed clean and the balsam is

dropped on it. The copaiba is also used as a remedy for the gonorrhea."

24: Wright--237 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
302, 824

"A persistent custom among most of the individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth] is the chewing of the 'nashumbi' berry, identified botanically as Manettia coccinia, which produces a brownish lacquer-like coating over the teeth. It is not known if this inhibits tooth decay or not."

26: Brüning--69-70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 757, 824

To cure their sicknesses the Indians use various herbs. I have made a collection of these herbs in Huavico. But when our boat was wrecked on our voyage up the Marañón and when we were forced to cross the forest from Nazaret to Bagua Chica on foot, the collection had to be abandoned in Nazaret since we did not have enough porters. Here is a list of my collection:

pihipí - the bulb of a sort of reed; used against insect bites by rubbing the wound caused by the sting.
sapáta - nut of a tree, called avila by the whites; used against toothache.
asángo - seeds used against diarrhea.
otuntú - the decoction of a plant used internally and externally against snake bite.
angpángban - leaves against snake bite.
kunakip - leaves against snake bite and diarrhea. [70]
maikuá - given to children from time to time to purgate them even if they are not sick.
zángu - tobacco plant.

Unfortunately, I am not able to give more detailed information. The notes that went with each plant were lost with the collection. These brief annotations come out of my glossary.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[9]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwanⁿ* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*mukawⁿ*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*papi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwanⁿ kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwanⁿ fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:196) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful tsentsaks." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jivaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Pirihri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jivaro proper. Karsten (1954: 28) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jibaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Pirihri." Actually, *pirípirí* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jivaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*pagi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954: 31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jivaro deity named "Unthanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948: 626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jivaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jivaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935: 125 26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nugui*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935: 170).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935: 480) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954: 21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954: 16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935: 74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the *nékás wakani* and thus, since he uses the term *wakani* alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935: 372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions *wakani*.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jivaro fieldwork in

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
[721] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jívaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
• 824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously,

/331 cont./

291 extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/

294 248 386 236 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jívaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very

302 531 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it

302 531 413 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder

[386] [237] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-

[531] [824] [386] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and

[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small

[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his

301 304 wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

333 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of
European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this orna-
mentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
[834] men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their
earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the
more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to
mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the
Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression
is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I
say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one
partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot under-
stand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of
his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women
with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes
the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right
to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how
reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must
always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must
practice the use of weapons, live for
battle and the hunt.

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225 sized fish are also caught in deeper waters with a special thin, long palm wood thrusting spear.

225 278 Fish poisoning is undertaken perhaps every few weeks to secure a large catch. Men, women, and children from several neighboring houses usually participate. They select a section of river where it is bisected by an island or sandbar, to which the men and boys construct a low dam of river boulders from one bank. This stone dam is constructed to form a lagoon where the poison can sufficiently take effect in the slowed current. Other men meanwhile build split bamboo grating-like fish traps at several low points on the dam and prepare the fish poison.

[824] Three types of plant piscicides are used: *timu* (in Spanish, *barbasco*), *masu*, and *payai*. *Timu* is considered the best of these, but is used in combination with *masu* for maximum success. Large quantities are required, and the fishermen often prepare six to eight bushel-sized baskets. They pound the plants to a pulp between river boulders and dump them into the water upstream. If all goes well, within twenty to thirty minutes stunned fish begin rising to the surface and float toward the dam. The men who constructed the traps seize the fish as they are washed onto the bamboo gratings. Everyone else, regardless of age or sex, wades into the lagoon and grabs for fish. Each person owns whatever he catches, although he often may give some of his catch to a less fortunate participant. Fish poisoning is sometimes pursued at night because the fish tend to be nearer the surface and therefore more susceptible to the poison. Both poisoning and netting are most effectively conducted during dry periods, when the rivers and streams are low and the current slow.

622 [146] Gathering activities contribute quantitatively relatively little to the diet, approximately 5 per cent annually, but do provide a variety of delicacies to supplement it. Various species

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stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously.

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apáčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves.

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained.

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons.

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles.

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less fre- 291
quently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special 292
wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained ma- 574
chine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from 291
bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and 287
is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a 776
system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named 241
Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies 824
or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[a] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based [782]
upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, [787]
very fat, and dressed in a black *tarači*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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[787] likes to come out at night and dance in the gardens, which, of course, are the only unobstructed clearings in the forest. She is most attracted to brand-new gardens with a minimum of growth and, in fact, such open spaces are so attractive that many Nuŋuí may come to dance simultaneously in such a clearing. However, normally there is only one Nuŋuí associated with a single garden and she dances alone between the manioc plants, in turn dancing as a partner with each pair of the opening shoots of manioc. As long as the garden is well weeded, she will probably stay at the site, remaining underground during the day. Her continued presence assures that she will be pushing up the crops, including all the domesticated plants. If, however, the woman responsible for the garden fails to weed it adequately, Nuŋuí will withdraw deep into the ground and remove herself to some other woman's better-weeded plot, "taking" the crop with her, and also causing the weeds suddenly to become even worse in the garden she has left. For this reason the Jívaro say they must weed the gardens carefully. Indeed, those with the best-weeded gardens do tend to have the best crop production, which is given as evidence of the validity of their belief.

With the breaking of day, Nuŋuí returns underground, going deeper as the day progresses. Since her supernatural force retreats with her, it is believed that the manioc tubers and sweet potatoes diminish in size gradually during the daytime. For this reason, the mistress of the garden prefers to dig up the tuberous crops early in the morning, while [782] they still retain their maximum size. At the same time, going early in the morning to the garden may frighten Nuŋuí, so the woman sings a song of propitiation to reassure Nuŋuí and [782] to keep her from submerging more deeply. Sometimes the woman simply thinks the song without opening her mouth,

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for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋasĩ* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

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they encountered Nuŋuí digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuŋuí, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

Nuŋuí is also believed to have given the dog to the Jívaro for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuŋuí is consistent with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuŋuí, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuŋuí for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

Women also sing to Nuŋuí to help protect the household from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

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members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows:

> Don't suck the blood of my husband
> And also don't suck the blood of my daughter.
> When you want to suck blood,
> Suck the blood of my enemies.
> When my husband comes,
> He will look very beautiful and very clear.
> But when our enemies come,
> They will come very pale
> And in the form of demons.[4]
> And you will know
> Who will die,
> Who will die.
> And when they enter this garden,
> They will have their blood sucked.
> All, all I can call,
> Even the plantain itself.
> I am a woman of Nunuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in telling children why they should not play in the garden.

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842 [789] place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 [824] The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemination and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[836] [848] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

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crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemä* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again.

The child is given a name within a few days after being

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boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en-
[582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
276 The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

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centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) or *kasakii*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters are reputed to get along better with one another. A man normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ici*) eventually will give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain *arutam* souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam.*

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natemä* (Río Tutanangoza, 1964). /p. 138-G/

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ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed by the Jívaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *iwanči*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makančī*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*payi*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jívaro shamans (*untsiim*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
787 Jívaro name is *natemá*, in order to enter the supernatural world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemá* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[19] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemá* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsanʒamu*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal
778 from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *činčipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery
[776] cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear
[782] of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws the latter into the river "as a gift for *paŋi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napiŋ*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

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curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tunurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

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178 184 278 411 438 [727] been made possible by the development of trade with the Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after a successful head-hunting raid.

178 227 438 In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by means of the inter-tribal trade network.

178 222 137 Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 24 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any

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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-